

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

VOLUME XIV, NUMBER 17

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JANUARY 22, 1945

Italian People Face Critical Conditions

Suffering Is Acute as Result of Lack of Food, Clothing and Other Vital Supplies

WIDESPREAD ASSISTANCE NEEDED

But Military Requirements Preclude Effective Handling of Problem Until End of War

Although the members of the subcommittee of the Military Affairs Committee who recently returned from a tour of the battle areas of Europe have not issued their formal report, they are known to have been deeply affected by the tragic conditions which they saw in Italy. Clare Boothe Luce, one of the members of the subcommittee, reported upon her return that thousands of Italians were "literally dying of cold and starvation before your eyes."

These reports are borne out by evidence from many other sources. All admit that conditions in Italy are critical. There have been warnings from official sources that unless more food, clothing, and blankets are supplied to Italy, thousands of people will die this winter of starvation and cold. The Foreign Policy Association, in one of its recent reports, gives the following description of the tragic conditions which prevail on the peninsula:

"Inadequate diet has been taking a heavy toll, especially in congested centers such as Rome. Infant mortality, which in the five-year period before the war averaged 102.9 per thousand, rose in June, 1944, to 287 and in July, 1944, to 438 per thousand. Between June, 1943, and June, 1944, the general mortality rate nearly doubled, and deaths from tuberculosis alone increased threefold. Equivalent statistics for the rest of Italy are not available but, in view of the generally insufficient food supply and the lack of medical stocks for civilian use, it is a safe assumption that there has been widespread deterioration."

Relief Needed

The principal cause of the present plight of the Italian people is the lack of shipping facilities to carry relief supplies. Allied shipping is placed under such a heavy strain to supply our military forces throughout the world that there is not sufficient to meet Italy's needs. However, early this month President Roosevelt announced that 15 to 20 ships would be allotted to transport food and clothing to Italy in order to help ease the critical situation.

It must be remembered that even in peacetime Italy depends upon imports to feed her people. The part of Italy now under Allied control supplies, in normal times, only two-thirds of its food requirements. Much of the land cannot now be cultivated because it was flooded by the Germans,

(Concluded on page 3)



President Franklin D. Roosevelt

A More Dangerous Wedge

By Walter E. Myer

The wedge that the Germans attempted to drive in Western Europe was less dangerous in actual terms of winning the war than the wedges which they are continually attempting to drive between ourselves and our Allies.

Every little rumor which is intended to weaken our faith in our Allies is like an actual enemy agent in our midst—seeking to sabotage our war effort. There are, here and there, evil and baseless rumors against the Russians—rumors against the British—rumors against our own American commanders in the field.

When you examine these rumors closely, you will observe that every one of them bears the same trademark—"Made in Germany."

We must resist this divisive propaganda—we must destroy it—with the same strength and the same determination that our fighting men are displaying as they resist and destroy the panzer divisions.—President Roosevelt.

While the men at the front are doing the fighting for us, Americans young and old who remain at home can do the highly important work of refuting the propaganda and the rumors which, according to President Roosevelt, are as dangerous to the war effort as the military activities of the enemy.

What are these rumors of which the President speaks? I shall not attempt, at this time, to list them, but here are two which are doing much damage:

The English are not doing their part in the war. They are not bearing their share of the burden. They are lying down on the job, leaving the fighting to the Americans. They are not participating as fully as they should in the campaign on the Western Front.

The fact is that the English, in proportion to population, have more men in the armed services than we have. Their casualties have been heavier. Our government has not published the casualty list for December, but during the period of the war up to December 1, the British had lost 12 per cent of their armed forces, while we had lost five per cent.

England itself has been a scene of battle. One-third of all the houses in England, Scotland, and Wales have been destroyed or damaged by bombs, and two-thirds of the houses of London have been destroyed or damaged. This figure is for December 1. The damage has continued unabated since that time.

The New York Times, after speaking of the tremendous production of war materials which has been achieved in England, says: "All this was done, of course, in a country under the shadow of invasion, in a countryside that often was under enemy attack, in cities that were blacked out each night, done by workers sub-

(Concluded on page 5, col. 1)

Greater Effort of Nation for Victory

With Crucial Stage of War at Hand, President Asks Full Support for Fighting Men

NEW PRODUCTION GOALS ARE SET

Program Outlined for Greater Participation of Students in War-Supporting Activities

"This war must be waged—it is being waged—with the greatest and most persistent intensity. Everything we are and have is at stake. Everything we are and have will be given. . . . We have no question of the ultimate victory. We have no question of the cost. Our losses will be heavy."

These sober words of the President in his annual message to Congress have served to remind the nation of the great responsibility which will lie on its shoulders during the months ahead. They were a challenge to the people at home to do their utmost to increase production of vitally needed war goods and to carry on unflinchingly through this most decisive period of the war.

The President's challenge was addressed especially to the home front. He paid glowing tribute to our fighting men who, he said, "have already won victories which the world will never forget." They have fought "with indescribable and unforgettable gallantry under most difficult conditions." During the months ahead they will be called upon to make even greater sacrifices, thousands of them the supreme sacrifice of giving their lives.

Active Support Needed

Recent military setbacks in Europe have increased the demands upon the home front. It is small satisfaction to the fighting man, the President declared in his message, "to know that monuments will be raised to him in the future. He wants, he needs, and he is entitled to insist upon our full and active support—now."

Despite the miracles of production that have been achieved by the American people during the three years the nation has been at war, they must now rise to greater heights of achievement. And despite the brilliant record of courage, industry, and sacrifice established by an overwhelming majority of Americans, there is still too much selfishness, obstruction, partisanship, and bickering. There are all too many examples of individuals and groups who place their own special interests above the interest of the nation as a whole.

Anyone, by looking around a bit, can see evidence of selfishness, heedlessness, and obstruction. Certain labor groups are clamoring for higher wages, regardless of the effect upon the national economy. Pressure groups of all kinds are trying to influence Congress to enact legislation favorable to

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United National Effort Needed for Victory

(Concluded from page 1)

their special interests—farm groups, lobbying for higher prices for agricultural products, large corporations scheming for ways of increasing their profits, other groups seeking privileges of one kind or another.

We all know individuals who are not carrying their load in the boat; those who complain bitterly about rationing and who fail to abide by the rules, who patronize black markets. There are others who refuse to give up the luxuries to which they are accustomed or who even seek luxuries and enjoyments they never knew in peacetime. There are those who refuse to cooperate with the war effort in any way, those who will not answer the urgent calls for blood for our wounded men, who will not support the bond drives, who waste vital materials and refuse to cooperate with salvage programs.

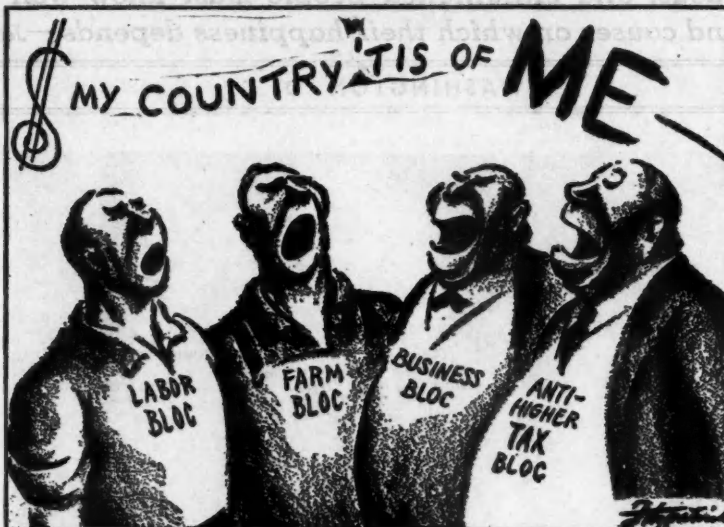
The people who engage in these practices do not represent the majority. But they are to be found in every community and among all classes of the population. They are numerous enough to weaken the war effort and to interfere with the full mobilization necessary for victory.

Student Program

Many citizens, well intentioned and patriotic though they may be, are failing to make their full contribution through sheer lethargy. Many of those on the home front lack the imagination to see how their efforts, undramatic as they may be, are an essential part of the gigantic struggle for victory which the Allies are making.

Such an attitude is more likely to prevail among students who are too young to join the armed forces, who cannot take full-time jobs in war industries, and who cannot participate fully in the war effort. They are inclined to feel that they are sitting on the sidelines and to feel frustrated because they cannot play a more active role in the greatest drama of all time.

In the months ahead, when the nation will be meeting its most crucial test, the young people may make a decisive contribution to victory. As individuals and as groups they may mobilize themselves as part of the program of national mobilization. Now is the time for every student to take stock of himself in order to determine whether he is making his full contribution. We cannot give a detailed list



New national anthem

FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

of the activities in which young people may participate, but we are offering a few suggestions. All these suggestions can be followed without interfering with the requirements of school.

Thousands of high school students are holding down part-time jobs to help ease the manpower situation. There are many such jobs in every community—jobs which take a few hours after school and on Saturday. See what opportunities exist in your community. Make inquiries at the local office of the United States Employment Service. Follow the ads in the newspapers. You may find such a job in a department store, a drug store, a restaurant. Do not be fussy about the type of work you do. Remember that the nation is at war and that anything you can do to help solve the labor shortage will be a contribution to victory.

If you take a part-time job, do not squander the money you earn. Invest it in war stamps and bonds which will stand you in good stead later. Your savings may be the means of obtaining a college education later on. By spending wisely and only for the things you need, you will be playing your part in the battle against inflation. Not only will you be making your own future more secure but you will be helping the nation to remain economically stable.

Do not frown upon such activities as the collection of waste paper. Devote as much time to this as possible because the paper shortage is more acute than ever. Conserve food and urge others to do the same. Do not drive a car a mile more than is necessary, or cause your parents to do so, for gasoline is one of the most critical of all war materials. Don't use the telephone for idle chatter. The wires are needed for essential war calls.

Get in touch with the local headquarters of the Red Cross to find out what type of volunteer work you may perform. Communicate with other war relief organizations. There are dozens of ways in which you may help and your services may be urgently needed.

If your parents are employed, you can look after the duties of the home and relieve

them of work and anxiety. There is a great demand for girls who are willing to look after the children of women who are engaged in war work.

Help to keep up the morale of your family and your neighbors. These are very anxious days and it will be well if each one conscientiously undertakes to maintain a cheerful, hopeful atmosphere. Above all, do not grumble about the inconveniences which all must undergo as an incident of war.

Watch your health more closely than ever. This means that you must be careful of diet, that you must have the right amount of sleep and relaxation, and that you must avoid exposure. The war is causing a shortage of doctors, nurses, and medicine. By keeping well you will help the nation.

Grave Responsibility

By all means keep yourself informed about the problems of the day. Do not stop studying when the school day is over. Give as much time as possible to the studying of the great issues which must be successfully met if we are to avoid economic disaster and another war, more terrible than the present struggle.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon this last obligation. The whole future of this nation depends upon the wisdom which the American people show in the period immediately ahead. As Sumner Welles, former undersecretary of state, accurately states in his introduction to *An Intelligent American's Guide to Peace*: "Not only will the lives of the youth of America be saved or sacrificed as the result of the decisions which the people of this country now make, but also the standard of living, the economic opportunity, and the happiness of everyone of us will be shaped accordingly."

The students of today have greater stake in the future than any other class, for they will be the ones who will have to fight another war if the effort to establish permanent peace machinery should fail. Their voice will have a powerful effect in determining which course the government shall take in its relations with other nations. This issue of future

war or peace will be settled by the foreign policy of this government. What this means is clearly stated by Mr. Welles:

"In the grave months which lie ahead, it is the obligation of every citizen of the United States to inform himself to the fullest extent possible concerning every aspect of the decisions which his country will now be forced to make. It is his duty to himself and to his family to study the problems with which our nation is confronted and to reach his own conclusions as to the course which should be taken. . . ."

"The people of the United States cannot afford to sit back and let these decisions be made for them. There is no family in this country which will not be directly affected by the decisions to be made. It is the obligation of every one of us, in our own self-interest, to think out for ourselves the issues with which our government is concerned in the determination of its foreign policy."

"It is imperative that the American people be shaken out of the slumber of complacency in which they have indulged during the past generations, and in particular during the past three decades, and be awakened to the stark truth that in the world of today and in the world of tomorrow the American democracy as we have inherited it cannot continue to function unless the people of this country fully comprehend that what we so blandly call the 'American way of life' will no longer be conceivable unless they demand that their government pursue a foreign policy which will safeguard it. Democracy within the United States will become a fiction unless the people of this country learn to know the truth, and determine their course in its light."

The time is rapidly approaching when we must consider concrete plans of international organization. When that time comes, the enemies of constructive programs will marshal all their forces to attack every measure which is proposed.

We are engaged in a gigantic undertaking. We intend to win a terrible war and to do so will require the united effort of the people at home as well as of our fighting men. To build a safer world above the ashes of destruction will require an equally supreme effort on the part of all.



COARLEY IN WASHINGTON POST

The nation's full effort is needed



THOMAS IN DETROIT NEWS

Just whom do you represent?



MILITARY NEEDS FIRST. The needs of our armed forces in Italy have been one of the reasons why greater relief has not been given to the Italian people. Here American soldiers are shown in the city of Siena.

The Italian Problem

(Concluded from page 1)

is used by the Allies for airports, or is dangerous because of mines planted by the Nazis. In addition, there is a shortage of seeds, of farm equipment and horses, and of other things essential to the cultivation of crops.

Another difficulty facing Italy is the breakdown of the transportation system. Bridges and highways have been blown up, railroads have been destroyed, and trucks and other vehicles are not available to transport food supplies. One of the results has been that at times not all the available food could be transported to the cities where it was needed. Frequently, most of the transportation facilities of the country are required for military purposes, which, of course, must come first.

Some Progress Made

Despite the terrific handicaps, some progress has been made in helping the Italian people. At the time of the German withdrawal, for example, the average Italian in Naples and Rome was receiving food allowances of only 300 calories a day, or about one-tenth of what he should have been getting to maintain health. Today he is receiving 750 calories—an improvement but far short of the requirements. The Allies are frank to admit that they have not been able to reach their goal in supplying food to the Italian people.

Our military forces have also taken measures to prevent the spread of disease throughout Italy. Epidemics of several serious diseases, such as typhus, dysentery, and malaria, have been prevented by effective measures adopted.

Until the war in Europe is over and Italy can receive large-scale assistance from the outside, her prospects will remain dismal. The country has undergone such vast destruction that a long period of reconstruction is to be expected. In the meantime, the best that can be hoped is that the present tragic conditions can be relieved so that minimum health standards may be maintained.

These economic conditions in Italy are reflected in political unrest and turmoil. There is dissatisfaction with both the Italian government and with the Allied military government of the liberated areas. The government headed by Premier Ivanoe Bonomi does not have a completely free hand inas-

much as it must operate under the supervision of the AMG (see last week's issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER). Bonomi and his cabinet must adopt policies approved by AMG and must cooperate with the military authorities in every way. Since Italy was a partner of Germany, the Allies are not likely to remove their control until the war is over and until they are convinced that a stable permanent government can be set up.

Despite the supervision exercised by Allied military authorities, the Bonomi government is given the major responsibility for the administration of civil affairs in the liberated sections of Italy. The cabinet consists of representatives of the six major parties. There are other smaller political parties not represented in the cabinet.

Conflicts among the various political groups have resulted in various cabinet shifts, but up to the present at least, Bonomi has been able to hold a government together. Unless economic conditions improve during the weeks and months ahead, however, political differences may be expected to become more acute. The result may be greater political instability.

One of the long-range government problems in Italy is this: During the long years of fascist rule of the country, the people lost all experience with democratic government. Few of the younger men were trained in the art of politics. As will be the case in Germany, it will be necessary to reedu-

cate the entire population along democratic lines.

The future type of government of Italy will probably not be decided until the close of the war. The people themselves are sharply divided on the issue of the monarchy. At present the royal family is playing an inconspicuous role in Italian affairs. The king, Victor Emmanuel III, was in such disfavor with large numbers of the population, that he was forced to relinquish his royal prerogatives in favor of his son. At present, the son is remaining conspicuously inactive. Eventually, the people must decide whether they favor a constitutional monarchy or a republican form of government.

Whatever form of government the Italian people finally decide upon, they are bound to encounter serious economic problems in the future. Their basic economic weakness stems from the general poverty of the country, which has been accentuated as a result of the war. With a population of more than 45 million, the country is smaller than the state of New Mexico. Much of the land cannot be cultivated because of the mountains.

Italy is almost completely lacking in many of the vital natural resources. She has no coal, oil, or iron, all essential to modern industry. In the absence of coal, widespread use was made of water-power to develop manufacturing industries before the war. The industrial heart of Italy—the Po Valley—contains two-fifths of the country's population. It is still in the hands of the Germans.

Allowing for her lack of resources, Italy has failed to develop economically as rapidly as other nations with similar handicaps. This is especially true in the field of agriculture. For example, the yield of wheat per acre is less in Italy than in France.

Italian agriculture needs a complete overhauling if it is to serve the nation's needs. In certain parts of the country, especially the south, the land is tightly held in large estates, where too much dependence is placed upon human labor and not enough upon modern methods of production. Elsewhere in the country, the agricultural land is cut into such small holdings that primitive methods of cultivation are still used. Few modern implements are available and consequently the yields are much smaller than they need be.

If Italian agriculture is to be put on a more productive basis after the war, large sums of capital will be required for machinery and other improvements. The Italians will also need assistance in the form of help by experts in the field of agriculture. A

partial solution of the problem may come by greater cooperation among the Italian farmers, whereby they may join hands and buy machinery and equipment which may be used by a number of farmers.

There is also room for progress in the development of Italian industry. Many of her industries are poorly organized, lack efficient machinery, and thus are unable to compete effectively in world markets with the industrial products of nations which have adopted more efficient methods. There is a lack of technical knowledge, and expert advice and assistance from the



Suffering throughout Italy will be acute this winter

United Nations would be of great value to Italy.

It is pointed out that other countries, notably Switzerland, have similar handicaps in the lack of natural resources and yet have managed to raise their industrial production levels far above Italy's. Italian industry should be reorganized in such a way that emphasis will be placed upon the products which can be turned out most efficiently.

One thing Italy will require after the war if she is to enjoy economic stability is a greatly expanded foreign trade. If she can obtain foreign markets for her many specialties, such as the many luxury articles of her arts and crafts, as well as citrus fruits, olives, and other agricultural products, she will be in a position to obtain the materials to expand and develop her industries.

One of Italy's greatest handicaps during the period between wars was her fascist government, which bled the country and the people in order to build a vast overseas empire. The Italian empire was largely worthless once it was acquired and the cost of maintaining it prevented the country from developing a sound economy.

Italy's empire has now vanished and the myth of its great glory has been exploded. In the future, the Italians will have to concentrate upon the development of their own country, upon improving their standard of living. This job will consume all their energies for many years to come. It is a job which they cannot perform with outside assistance. There is every indication that the United Nations will be willing to help the Italian people in this undertaking. Italy will be given the opportunity once more to become an important and a respected member of the family of nations.



Italy and her neighbors

COURTESY PH

The Story of the Week

The 1946 Budget

In the fiscal year beginning July 1 of this year, the United States government will spend an estimated \$83,000,000,000. This figure represents the first budget of declining expenditures we have had since 1938 and falls about \$17,000,000,000 below the budget total for 1944-45.

A smaller outlay for war expenditures accounts for the reduction. The President estimates that direct war activities will consume about \$70,000,000,000 in 1945-46, or \$19,000,000,000 less than in 1944-45. Should the war go badly in the coming months, the figure may have to be revised upward as high as \$80,000,000,000. If we are able to finish at least the European phase quickly, however, no more than \$60,000,000,000 may be required.

Nonwar spending for the coming fiscal year has been estimated at \$13,000,000,000. Because of increasing interest on the national debt and a doubled outlay for veterans' pensions and benefits, nonwar spending is predicted at a level above that of the current fiscal year.

Although the amount of money taken into the Treasury is expected to drop from \$45,730,000,000 to \$41,255,000,000 next year, the new budget indicates a smaller deficit than we now have. The 1945-46 deficit will amount to \$41,848,000,000 as compared with \$54,000,000,000 this year. The President proposes to cover most of the deficit by public borrowing—the sale of government bonds and other securities.

In releasing the new budget, President Roosevelt warned that the public debt will be one of our greatest post-

war problems. He believes Congress will have to keep taxes high for some time in order to pay for the redemption of war bonds when peace comes.

Viewpoints on the Peace

In the Senate, where the nation's postwar role in world affairs will be largely decided, spokesmen for different points of view on the peace are already lining up arguments and supporters. Senator Vandenberg has come out strongly for a treaty committing the major United Nations to keep Germany and Japan permanently disarmed. Senator Wheeler, meanwhile, has opened a campaign to block ratification of the Dumbarton Oaks security pact.

Senator Vandenberg believes fear of future German aggression is behind most current differences between us and the other United Nations. He thinks this fear is also responsible for the way Britain and Russia have insisted on settling certain international issues without consulting the other Allies. If the United States, Britain, Russia, France, and China collectively guarantee the disarmament of Germany and Japan, he feels that the way to international cooperation will be open.

Senator Wheeler, on the other hand, holds that the nations are too distrustful of one another to risk their security in real cooperation. For this reason, he considers any United Nations organization foredoomed and feels that this country should remain out of it. Wheeler advocates strict adherence to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the formation of a European federation, and abandonment of the unconditional surrender



One belt that has to be let out

goal. He feels that our demand for unconditional surrender is needlessly prolonging the war by making the enemy feel that he has nothing to gain and everything to lose by suing for peace.

Work-or-Fight Law

Government leaders are now agreed that a modified national service law will be necessary to solve the nation's manpower problem. Both the armed forces and war industry are currently suffering from serious manpower shortages. To meet military and industrial requirements for the first half of this year, Undersecretary of War Patterson estimates that 1,600,000 men are needed.

The government proposes to have Selective Service reexamine the employment status of all men between the ages of 18 and 45, referring to local War Manpower Commission offices all those who are not engaged in war work. Of these, able-bodied men under 30 will be drafted into the armed forces and the others will be required to take war production jobs.

A complete list of penalties for those who defy WMC edicts has not yet been drawn up. Congressional and War Mobilization leaders favor drafting all able-bodied men who leave war jobs or otherwise fail to comply with the program. The original plan for conscripting those unfit for military service into Army and Navy labor battalions has been rejected, however. Some system of civil penalties will be arranged instead. At this writing, the final version of the law is being discussed in Congress under the sponsorship of Representative May, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee.

Luzon

Luzon, newest battleground for our forces in the Pacific, is the largest, richest, and most important of the 7,000 Philippine Islands. It has the biggest city, the best harbor, and many of the best airfields in the entire archipelago. Northernmost of the major islands, it is only 225 miles from Formosa, less than 500 miles from China, and about 1,000 miles from Japan itself. It is the key to Japan's conquered empire and an ex-

cellent springboard for our eventual invasion of the enemy homeland.

It is also rich in resources. Thick forests on Luzon yield a wide variety of valuable timber, medicines, and dyes. Gold, copper, iron, coal, and salt are found in its mountains and its farms and plantations produce quantities of rice, sugar cane, tobacco, hemp, and cotton. Corn, sweet potatoes, coconuts, pineapples, and bananas also grow in abundance.

About 4,000,000 people—a fourth of the population of the Philippines—live on Luzon, attracted by a climate cooler than that of the islands to the south. Tribes of primitive hunters roam the wild jungles and rugged mountains of the interior. The civilized native population is concentrated along the coasts. Since most of the people are farmers, there are few large cities outside of Manila, the capital.

Luzon is the site of a number of military and civilian prison camps where thousands of Americans have been held for the more than three years since our troops were forced to leave Corregidor. There are many vital war installations, including Clark Air Field, 75 miles northwest of Manila, and scores of other important air bases; Fort Stotsenberg, the Army base at Clark Field; the Cavite naval base at Manila Bay, the navy yard at Olongapo on Subic Bay, and many others.

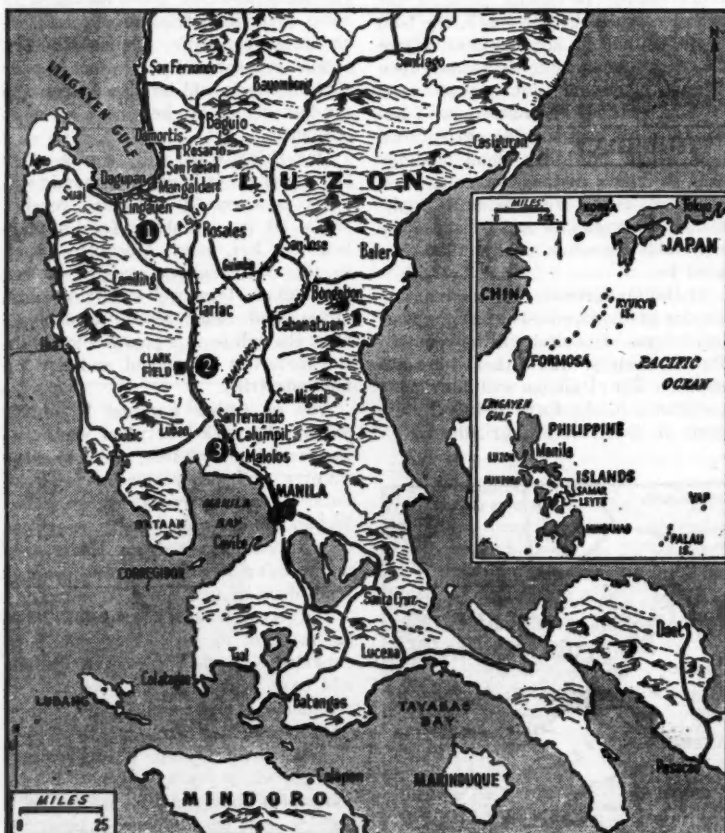
The stake in the Battle of Luzon is great, and the struggle to capture the island will not be easy. The Sixth Army under General Walter C. Krueger will be the first American field army to meet a large Japanese force in an area suitable for mechanized warfare. It is believed that the Japanese have 150,000 to 500,000 men on Luzon and that they may use their entire air force against us there.

Guide to the Peace

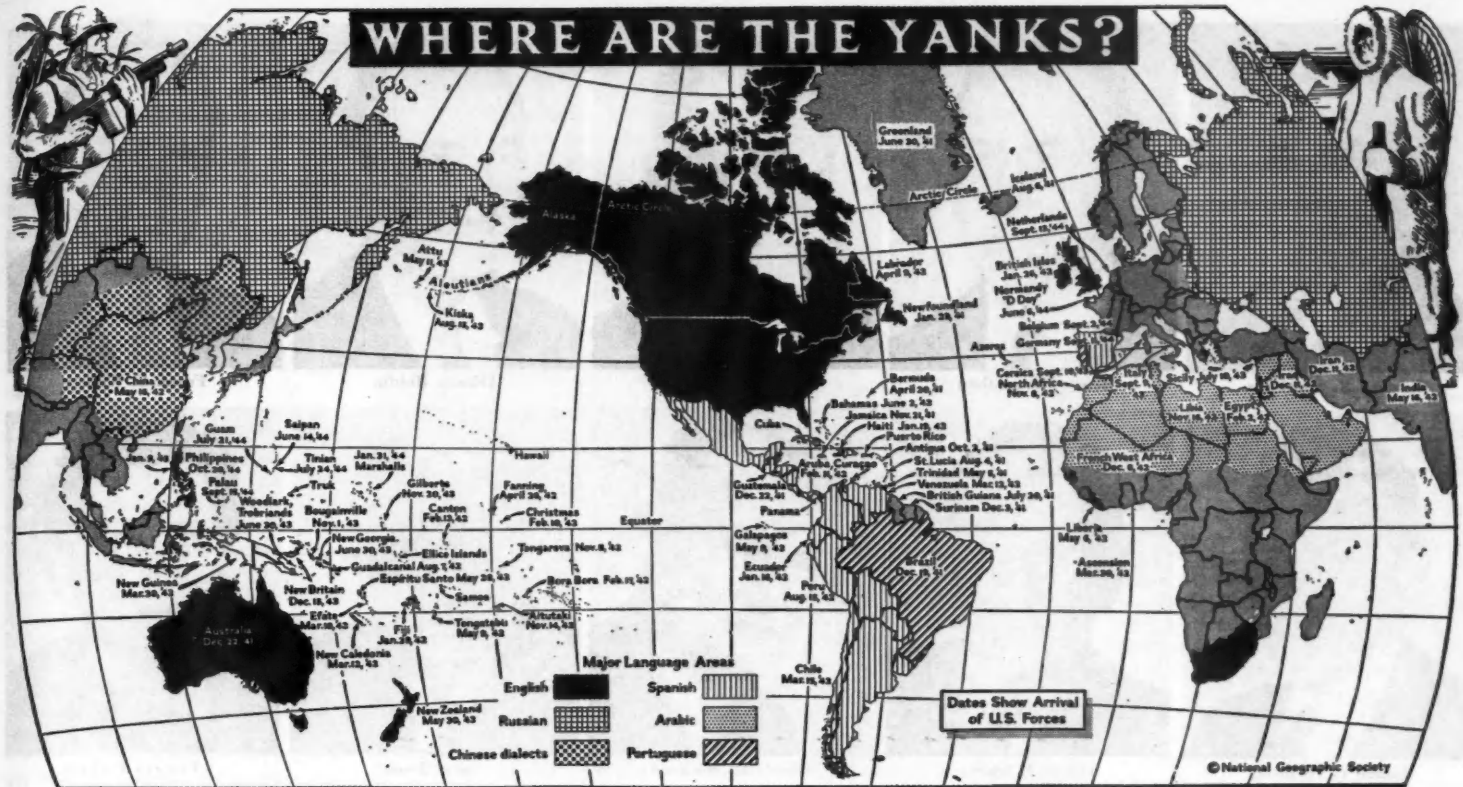
What should we know about the other countries of the world if we are to decide intelligently the questions involved in a lasting peace settlement after the war is over? Sumner Welles, former undersecretary of state, believes we should be familiar with the major social, economic, and historical facts about all our global neighbors.

With this in view, he has collected the essential facts about 80 different countries in a new book entitled *An Intelligent American's Guide to the Peace*, (New York: Dryden Press, 370 pages, \$3.75). Each country is discussed under four headings: The Land and People, The Economic Life, The History between 1914 and 1944, and The Stake in the Peace. The discussions are illustrated by more than 50 maps.

Guide to the Peace is particularly valuable for its store of information on the smaller nations. Along with the facts about the major powers, the reader learns about the government of Saudi Arabia, Finland's role in international trade, and the economic position of Bulgaria. Under one title it has included an interesting review of many widely circulated facts and a presentation of many equally important ones not readily obtainable else-



The Island of Luzon



where. It cannot be too highly recommended for the student of social studies.

New Balkan Flare-up

With the end of civil war in Greece, Yugoslavia has become the number one storm center of the Balkans. A long period of internal strife ended for the Greeks when representatives of the ELAS, fighting arm of the left-wing political federation known as the EAM, signed a truce with British General Ronald M. Scobie. Simultaneously, a new period of trouble threatened to begin for Yugoslavia as King Peter refused to accept the regency plan drawn up between Dr. Ivan Subasitch, premier of his exile government, and Marshal Tito, head of the Yugoslav Committee of National Liberation.

The plan provided for a regency in which one representative of each of Yugoslavia's three nationalities, the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, should govern the country until the formation of a constituent assembly to decide Yugoslavia's postwar form of government. Until the formation of the constituent assembly, Tito was to serve as president, with the Council of National Liberation wielding legislative power. King Peter vetoed the plan on the ground that it gave too much power to the Partisans.

A Dangerous Wedge

(Continued from page 1)

sisting on restricted rations of meat, butter, bread, fish, and every other food except potatoes, by men and women workers who often were separated from their families and nearly all of whom gave at least one night a week to some volunteer civilian defense activity.

The British armed forces, like our own, are scattered all over the world, for this is a global war. Perhaps the division is not wise. They may have too many soldiers in India and too many in Greece. This question of distribution is a very hard one. There will be differences of opinion within each country about the location of the troops. There has been a fierce conflict of opinion in the United States about the number of

men we should send to the Pacific, and the number that should fight on the Western Front.

It is reported, on good authority, however, that 70 per cent of the men on the Western Front are American and 30 per cent British and Canadian. If this report is true, the distribution does not seem to be much off balance when we remember that the population of Britain and Canada is about 56 million, while that of the United States is 135 million.

Here is rumor number two:
Russia is not doing her part in the war. She should have launched a campaign in Poland while we were attacking along the German border.

It is a fact that full military cooperation among the Allies has not yet been achieved, and that is unfortunate. But we are not in a position to condemn our Russian Allies for inactivity. The Russians have lost 20 million of their population in war casualties. Nearly all their large cities have been destroyed, and yet they have performed military miracles. They are carrying on a continuous offensive. Since we landed in France, they have conquered or liberated nearly twice as much territory as the British and Americans have.

Until last week they had been inactive on the Polish front since last summer, and Americans were naturally anxious about that. We must remember, however, that the Russians were anxious as far back as 1942 about our not opening a second front in Western Europe. They thought that we could do it at that time. They waited impatiently through 1943 and until June, 1944.

We cannot, therefore, afford to be too impatient or too critical because the Russians waited so long to open a big drive toward Germany on the Polish front; especially in light of the fact that they are carrying on a major offensive elsewhere.

Naturally, we were anxious about the Russians' failure to open a major offensive on the Polish front while our armies in Belgium were being subjected to such terrific pressure. But we do not know the military factors involved and, lacking such information, we should not stir up dissension by accusing the Russians of intentionally lying down on the job. Their reasons for delaying their offensive in Poland until the middle of this month may be based upon as sound military reasons as our delaying until last summer the opening of the second front in France.

SMILES

At an examination the teacher asked, "Does the question embarrass you?" "Not at all, sir," replied the student, "not at all. It is quite clear. It is the answer that bothers me."

"I just met your friend Phil Topper, and he had a pinched look."

"What was wrong?"

"Oh, he was walking between two cops."

Housewife: "How did you break this vase?"

Maid: "I was accidentally dusting."

Judge: "Guilty or not guilty?"

Accused: "Not guilty."

Judge: "Have you ever been in jail before?"

Accused: "No, sir, I never stole anything before."

Mrs.: "There's such a lot of electricity in my hair."

Mr.: "Oh-ho! So that's why you buy those hats that look like lamp shades."

"She's what I call a mental tourist."
"What do you mean?"
"Her mind wanders."

On her first day at school, little Rose was assigned to a temporary seat, and at the end of the day she went home dissatisfied.

"Well," said her mother, "how do you like your teacher?"

"Not much," answered Rose. "She told me to sit on the front seat for the present, and she never gave me the present."

"Who's waiting at this table," demanded the irate customer.
"You, madam," replied the busy waitress, "until your turn comes."

At the art museum the sign "Hands off" was placed before the statue of Venus de Milo. A small child looked from the sign to the statue, and said drily, "Anybody could see that."

Questions from the News

1. List ten important war-supporting activities which are carried on by various groups in your community.
2. Why did President Roosevelt make a strong appeal to the home front in his annual message to Congress?
3. How may young people in high school help solve the manpower shortage?
4. What is the principal reason for the suffering and hardships which the Italian people are now undergoing?
5. What step has recently been taken to improve conditions in that country?
6. Why will it take Italy a long time after the war to get on a sound political and economic footing?
7. What handicaps must Italy overcome to be a strong industrial and agricultural nation?
8. Who is premier of the government of Italy? What limitations are placed upon this government?
9. Name the members of President Roosevelt's cabinet.
10. What are the two sets of functions performed by the cabinet in this country?

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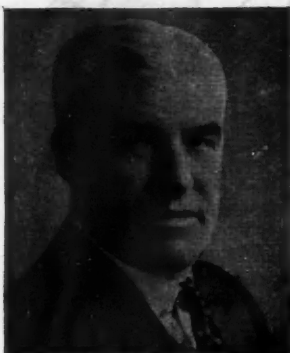
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Pronunciations

Ivanoe Bonomi—ee-vah'noe-ay boe'noe-mee

Ivan Subasitch—ee-vahn' soo'bah-seech
Lazon—loo-zon'



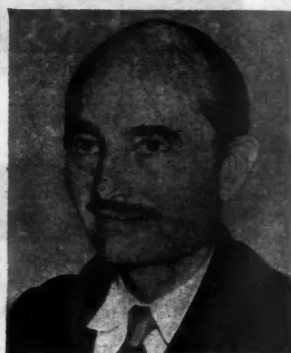
Edward R. Stettinius



Henry Morgenthau



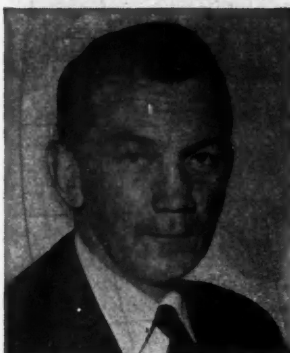
Henry L. Stimson



Francis Biddle



Frank C. Walker



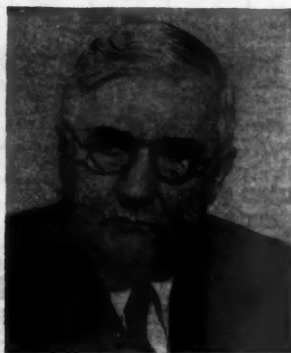
James V. Forrestal



Harold L. Ickes



Claude R. Wickard



Jesse Jones



Frances Perkins

President Roosevelt's Official Family

THE old familiar faces will be in the majority when Franklin D. Roosevelt meets with his cabinet during the first days of his fourth term as President of the United States. Whether there would be any changes in the cabinet was a question which had kept government circles and news forecasters busy speculating for months. Henry Wallace, soon to be out of his job as vice president, has been placed in practically every cabinet post by rumors. The President's old friend, Dan Tobin, head of the Teamsters' Union, and several other figures have been mentioned as possible substitutes for Secretary of Labor Perkins.

Most of the members of the Roosevelt cabinet as it now stands are the President's personal friends of long standing. All have had some experience in working with "the Chief." As individuals and as a group they will play important roles in determining the policies to be followed by our government during and after the war. The homes from which they come, their education, their professional experience, and their personalities all influence the decisions they make.

Edward R. Stettinius, secretary of state, is the most recent addition to the cabinet. His career has been discussed in an earlier issue (see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, December 11, 1944). Rank in the cabinet is determined by the date when each cabinet post was first set up. Consequently, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., secretary of the treasury, is next to Mr. Stettinius.

Morgenthau's long personal friendship with President Roosevelt rather than any startling success as a financier made possible his appointment as Treasury chief on New Year's Day, 1934. He was born in New York City in 1891, the son of our ambassador to Turkey under President Wilson. He studied at Cornell, Temple University, and Amherst, but had some difficulty deciding what he wanted to do. Eventually he became a successful farmer, growing apples just 15 miles from the Roosevelt estate in Dutchess County, New York.

He bought and brought to life a farm journal, the *American Agriculturalist*, which he edited from 1922 until 1933. He had worked under Franklin Roosevelt in the Navy Department during the First World War, and when Roosevelt became Governor of New York, Morgenthau, who had been his campaign manager, took a post in the state Agricultural Advisory Commission, later became state Commissioner of Conservation. When Roosevelt won the presidency "Henry the Morgue," as the President jokingly calls him, was appointed to consolidate the nine agricultural credit agencies into the Farm Credit Administration before he entered the Treasury Department.

Henry L. Stimson, our secretary of war, is the most experienced of the present cabinet members. This is the third administration in which he has held a cabinet post. He served as secretary of war under President Taft and as secretary of state under President Hoover. Although 78 years of age he is one of the most active of the cabinet members. He has served as Mr. Roosevelt's secretary of war since July 1940, shortly after the fall of France.

Stimson was born in New York and was educated at Yale and Harvard. He worked in the famous law firm of Elihu Root, one of our great secretaries of state, and later became a partner in it. Although a Republican, he has been a strong supporter of the foreign policies of the Roosevelt administration.

Francis Biddle, who became attorney general in 1941, is a descendant of our first attorney general, Edmund Randolph. He was born in Paris in 1886 and received his education at Groton and Harvard. While at Harvard, where he took his law degree, he tutored and worked on newspapers. From 1911 to 1912 he was private secretary to the late Justice Holmes of the United States Supreme Court, a coveted position among young lawyers at the time.

Biddle is considered an ardent New Dealer. In 1934, he was appointed

chairman of the National Labor Relations Board. In his present post he has been subjected to sharp criticism by subordinates in the Justice Department and outsiders, but he has been consistently supported by the President.

Frank C. Walker, the present postmaster general, has been a political backer of Franklin Roosevelt since 1928. Born in Pennsylvania in 1886, he grew up in Butte, Montana, attended Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington, studied law at Notre Dame law school, and became district attorney of Silver Bay County, Montana, later entering the state legislature. His own law firm represented the powerful Anaconda Copper Company.

Walker has been treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, executive secretary of the Executive Council, Roosevelt's "Super Cabinet" which coordinated regular cabinet functions and those of the new recovery agencies in the early days of the New Deal. In those days he was called the "assistant President."

Our present secretary of the navy, James Forrestal, has said that his hobby is obscurity. He was a neighbor of the Roosevelts, having been born in Dutchess County, New York, in 1892. He worked his way through college, attending Dartmouth and Princeton, was a naval aviator in the First World War.

After the war he became head of Dillon, Read, and Company, a leading Wall Street firm, but when the government began to regulate the stock market, Forrestal led some of the younger men in advising and cooperating with Roosevelt, whom he had known in the Navy Department during the war. He served for a short time as administrative assistant to the President, became undersecretary of the navy and replaced the late Frank Knox as secretary in May, 1944.

Harold Ickes, secretary of the interior since 1933, spent most of his spare time working when he attended the University of Chicago. He became

a reformer and politician early, handled civil liberties cases without pay, and was called the "gadfly of Cook County." He is a colorful figure who has been the President's defender against the Republican party, to which he once belonged. He has had a great deal of money to work with in his department and has been largely responsible for the construction of huge public power and irrigation projects. He has written several books, including a story of his own life called *Autobiography of a Curmudgeon*.

Claude R. Wickard, secretary of agriculture, is a real farmer from Carroll County, Indiana. He studied agriculture at Purdue University and has put scientific theories to the practical test. He is a follower of Henry Wallace under whom he worked in the early days of the New Deal.

Jesse Jones of Texas, Commerce chief, has always had a way with money. His father was a tobacco planter in Tennessee where Jesse was born in 1874. The boy's schooling was intermittent but he earned money from his tobacco patch, later went to Dallas, Texas, to work in his uncle's lumber company. He now owns a good part of the valuable real estate in Houston, Texas, and owns the *Houston Chronicle*. He is not a New Dealer but has been an outstanding figure in the commercial operations carried on under it.

Frances Perkins, secretary of labor, has been opposed by many during the 12 years she has been in office. Her critics feel that the job is too big for a woman, that she has failed to unify labor, and has not been able to build up her department. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1882, she is primarily interested in improving the lot of the ordinary worker. She worked for better industrial legislation in New York where she learned about politics.

Periodically reports of Miss Perkins' impending resignation circulate through Washington but she continues to work hard, ignoring for the most part the lack of sympathy which she gets from the press and labor groups.

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Treatment of Prisoners of War

NO definite figures on the number of Americans taken prisoner in the recent German offensive have been made public as we go to press, but we know that when the news comes it will raise the total to well above the 43,700 who were held by the Germans before the offensive began. These, plus the 17,500 Americans held by the Japanese, are at the mercies of our enemies, but they are protected by actual rules and regulations, and by certain psychological factors.

Hundreds of thousands of homes in the United States and in the other warring nations of the world have received notice that their sons, husbands, fathers, and brothers are prisoners of war. Sometimes the news brings a great feeling of relief, for at least the loved one is still living. But immediately questions arise. How is he being treated? Will he return broken in health, ill from exposure, malnourished, or mentally unfit, or will he be treated kindly?

The rules of warfare which govern the treatment of prisoners today were laid down by an international convention held in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1929. The agreement was ratified or adhered to by some 40 nations, including Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. While Russia and Japan did not sign or ratify the agreement, it is to their interest to act in accordance with its terms in order to insure its application to their nationals in enemy hands. Today every man taken prisoner should know what treatment he has a right to expect and what the enemy can rightfully demand of him.

Work of Red Cross

The referees who see that the rules are carried out are the International Red Cross and the "protecting powers," or the neutral nations which represent the interests of one belligerent in the territory of another. The Red Cross is given the task of inspecting prisoner-of-war camps and setting up information centers to keep extensive records on each individual prisoner and answer inquiries regarding prisoners.

There have been authentic cases of callous mistreatment of American prisoners by both the Japanese and the Germans and some have even been killed outright, but we have refused to go back to the old practice of retribution because as a nation we believe that the rules should be upheld and are confident that those responsible for breaking them will be justly punished after the war. Moreover, a powerful psychological factor is involved. We know that retaliation on our part would only lead to more general mistreatment of our own nationals in enemy hands.

In spite of these violations, available evidence indicates that the Germans have for the most part adhered to the letter of the law, at least. Our information shows that prisoners receive about 1500 calories of food a day, about the same as that upon which German civilians are living. The 11-pound food parcels which the Red Cross delivers to the camps gives each man an additional 2000 calories daily. Relatives may send tobacco, cigarettes, and food periodically.

We can judge the kind of treatment our captured fighting men are receiving by observing the way in which we

carry out the regulations of the Geneva convention and assuming that the Germans follow similar procedures, within the limits of their available supplies of food, clothing, fuel, and other necessities.

On January 5, 1945, there were 361,631 prisoners of war in the United States. Of these, 307,981 were Ger-

man and in food processing plants. Private employers must pay the government for the prisoners' services at the prevailing rate for that community, but the prisoner still receives only 80 cents a day.

Commissioned officers are paid according to the standards of pay which officers of the capturing army receive.



Members of the Army's Military Police watch over prisoners of war in this country who help harvest crops.

mans, 51,071 Italians, and 2,629 Japanese. This represents about one-third of the prisoners taken in Europe thus far.

More than 200,000 of those in this country are engaged in useful work. The remainder are either physically unable to work, are in transit, doing maintenance work in prison camps, or are officers who are not required to work under the rules of the Geneva convention.

The Army uses prisoners in its laundries, warehouses, shoe repair shops,

This means that German officers are paid what an American army officer of equivalent rank would receive and that our officers imprisoned in Germany are paid by the German government at the same rate that it pays its own officers.

One reason for the feeling which has been expressed in some parts of the country that war prisoners are being pampered is the fact that according to the terms of the Geneva convention prisoners must be fed and clothed with food and clothing of a quality equal to that used for our own



Americans held as prisoners of war by the Japanese have been subjected to treatment which violates all the rules governing the treatment of prisoners.

automobile repair plants, carpentry shops, bakeries, and kitchens. These men are paid 80 cents a day, which is in addition to the ten cents a day they receive whether they work or not. They are paid in scrip which may be spent at the canteens for beer, cigarettes, candy, haircuts, or whatever else is available.

There are over 50,000 prisoners working on privately owned farms. A large part of the pea, bean, tomato, sugar cane, and rice crops in various areas was harvested with the aid of these prisoners. Some 7,000 of them are working in lumber camps. Others are working on construction projects

troops at base camps. Except for the barbed wire, high walls, and guards, the camps resemble regular army barracks. The standard compound for 1,000 men has an administration building, four mess halls, four store houses, a recreation building, an infirmary, a workshop, a canteen, a chapel, and a guardhouse. There are now 130 base camps in the United States and 290 branch camps which are usually located near current work projects. The base camps are scattered throughout the country.

The question of discipline is a difficult one because the Geneva convention specifically forbids any corporal

punishment or collective punishment for individual acts, and it allows only those food restrictions used in the armies of the detaining power. In no case may prisoners of war be transferred to penitentiary establishments to undergo any disciplinary punishment.

The rules hold that prisoners punished as a result of attempted escape may be subjected to special surveillance, which may not entail the suppression of the guarantees granted them by the convention. Those retaken are liable only to disciplinary punishment and after an attempted or accomplished escape the comrades of the person escaping who assisted in the escape may incur only disciplinary punishment on this account.

The leniency of the regulations applying to prisoners who attempt to escape favors us at this juncture of the war, because many American prisoners of war in Germany may be expected to try to escape since they are close to friendly territory and there is hope of reaching their own lines within a relatively short time. In this country only about 1,000 prisoners have escaped and of these, only about 11 remain at large.

Requirements of Prisoners

Although prisoners are required to give only their names, ranks, or regimental numbers to their captors and may not be coerced into giving additional information, every capturing army tries to secure as much military information as possible from the prisoners they take. The Germans are very patient and skillful in their questioning. Because of this fact, our men are given careful instructions in German questioning techniques, which include giving the prisoner a great deal of information about himself which lead him to believe that his captors know everything anyway. They also hope to make the prisoner relax his watchfulness long enough to reveal whether or not the information they have is correct.

Recently a prisoner of war information bureau has been set up in Washington, and army authorities are encouraging all relatives or those who wish to secure information about individual prisoners to write to the Provost Marshal General's Office, Washington 25, D. C. From this office go the letters of information which follow the notification telegram from the Adjutant General's Office to the next of kin of any Americans who become prisoners of war.

As soon as the prisoner of war information bureau receives the International Red Cross cable telling at which camp a prisoner is interned, they relay the information, with the correct address, to the next of kin. The location of every camp in Germany is thought to be known, and this information is made available to the public. Everything the bureau learns of what is happening to the prisoner is reported to the next of kin.

The location of camps and the names of men interned in Germany are all sent to General Eisenhower's headquarters to insure the safety of the camps, prevent the bombing of the immediate area, and provide the background information to be used in searching out and liberating the prisoners held by the Germans when our armies reach them.

The Democratic Process

Duties of the President's Cabinet

BETWEEN election day and the time when a new president is inaugurated, the incoming chief executive usually decides on the new cabinet which will assist him while he is in office. If he is assuming the presidency for the first time, this is likely to mean that the heads of all of the ten leading administrative departments will be replaced. But if, like President Roosevelt, the newly elected president is succeeding himself, he will probably retain most of the old cabinet members.

Cabinet members under the American system of government have two different sets of functions. As individuals, they are administrators, running the departments of State, War, Navy, Treasury, Justice, Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, Labor, and Post Office. As a group, they serve as an advisory council, working with the president on matters of public policy.

When our government was founded, cabinet members had only the first set of functions. The makers of the Constitution planned that the Senate should act as the President's advisory council. They merely hinted at the existence of the cabinet by authorizing the president "to require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the executive departments" on national issues.

At first President Washington followed this rule, calling for written statements from his four secretaries—heads of the departments of State, Treasury, War, and Justice. Later, when his cabinet had been enlarged to include a postmaster general, he found it more convenient to meet with them for consultation.

As acts of Congress added new departments to the federal government, succeeding presidents invited their top administrators to attend these consultations. Thus in John Adams' administration a secretary of the navy joined the cabinet. In 1849, a secretary of the interior was added, and in 1889, a secretary of agriculture. By 1913, a secretary of commerce and a secretary of labor had brought the cabinet to its present size.

Because they are political officials as well as administrators, our presidents consider political strategy as well as the needs of the departments in appointing them. Frequently, for example, a president will name the man next to himself in importance in his party as secretary of state.

It is also customary for the president to award the title of postmaster general to his campaign manager. In selecting the secretary of agriculture and the attorney general, he gives some weight to professional qualifications, making sure that the one is something of an expert on farm problems and that the other is a recognized lawyer. But the other cabinet members are taken from all walks of life and are not necessarily experienced in handling the type of problems which fall to their departments. In all our history, there has never been a time when a professional Army or Navy man served as secretary of war or secretary of the navy.

In choosing such officials as the secretary of the interior or the secretary of commerce, the president is chiefly influenced by a desire to surround himself with cabinet members who will

work well with him and who will be popular with the people. He tries to make sure his department heads come from widely separated parts of the country and also that they represent important factions in his party.

In time of war or national emergency, the president may make a further bid for the political unity of the country by including some members of the opposition party in his cabinet. President Lincoln did this during the Civil War, and Wilson also appointed opposition party members to the cabinet in the First World War. After

of Jackson and Wilson. In 1933, he established a "supercabinet" composed of the department heads plus the leaders of his national recovery program. In addition, he retained several unofficial advisors. Since we have been at war, he has worked more closely with the men who head government war agencies than with those who are secretaries of the permanent departments. He has also looked to such personal friends as Harry Hopkins for advice.

Completely dependent upon the president's wishes for its role in the making of public policy, the cabinet

feared it would take too much of the department heads' time away from their administrative duties. Particularly if the Congress and the administration were of different parties, they feared the congressmen might use the question period to try to discredit and obstruct the work of the administration.

One current proposal is that two sets of cabinet members be appointed—one set to devote full time to the administration of the 10 big agencies and one to function exclusively as a group of presidential advisors. As-



THE FIRST CABINET. Consisting of four members, President Washington's cabinet served as advisors on the affairs of the young nation. Left to right: Washington, General Henry Knox, secretary of war; Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury; Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state; Edmund Randolph, attorney-general.

the fall of France in the summer of 1940, President Roosevelt named two Republicans—Henry L. Stimson and Frank Knox—as his war and navy secretaries respectively.

Once they have been chosen, cabinet members have complete charge of their departments. The scope of their activities as a group, however, depends on the president. Although it is customary for them to meet once or twice a week to confer with him, he may reduce the number of meetings or even eliminate them. If he fails to call the cabinet together, its members cannot meet officially on their own initiative. In fact, President Wilson dismissed his secretary of state, Robert Lansing, because Lansing called a cabinet meeting without his permission.

Many presidents have preferred private advisors to the official ones included in the cabinet. Andrew Jackson set a precedent for this early in our history by ignoring his department heads and consulting a "kitchen cabinet" of his own friends whenever he wished advice on national policy. Wilson leaned more heavily on the counsel of Colonel House, his personal representative in Europe, than on that of his cabinet.

President Roosevelt has been particularly prone to follow the tradition

has very little connection with Congress. Senatorial approval of cabinet appointments is usually a matter of routine and the president may remove a cabinet member without consulting Congress at all. Cabinet members do not attend sessions of either the House or the Senate and most contact with them is indirect, except when they are called upon to appear before congressional committees.

Many people feel this to be a defect in our system of government. Through the years there have been numerous suggestions for bringing Congress and the cabinet closer together. The first suggestion of this kind came in 1864 when the House recommended a law to give the department heads seats but no votes in Congress. It was thought that representation in the legislature would give the cabinet a greater understanding of the people's wishes and make them better able to carry out the laws. Supporters of the idea also believed that a period in which congressmen might question the department heads about their activities would lead to better administration by keeping the work of the departments constantly open to public examination and criticism.

Those who opposed the granting of congressional seats to cabinet members

cording to this plan, the latter group would have voting membership in Congress and would be subject to questioning by its members as British cabinet members are. This would require a constitutional amendment, for as the Constitution stands now, no person who holds another federal office may be a voting member of the House or Senate.

There is much to be said both for and against the idea of changing the cabinet's role in our government. Since cabinet members are not elected by the people, they are shielded from the kind of public scrutiny which checks the activities of other officials in a democracy. Periodic questioning in Congress might prevent or correct much inefficiency which would otherwise go unnoticed. It would also provide a check on the ever-growing powers of the president.

On the other hand, bringing Congress and the cabinet together might lead to useless sniping. Also, it might place disproportionate value on a cabinet member's ability as a debater. From a constitutional point of view, the idea has been criticized because it runs counter to our tradition that the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government be kept separate.

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